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ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the inner speech process, its relationship to thought and behavior, and its theoretical and educational implications. The paper first defines inner speech as a bridge between thought and written or spoken language and traces its development. Second, it investigates competing theories surrounding the subject with an emphasis on the theories of Lev Vygotsky. Both laboratory and documentary evidence of the existence of inner speech is presented, and a pilot study in which marginal notes supplied by students or randomly selected from library books were classified according to the three categories suggested by James Wertsch is discussed. Lastly, the paper examines the significance of inner speech as well as its educational implications. Two figures and one table are included; 15 references are attached. One appendix provides samples of marginal notes from the pilot study. (MG)

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THE HIDDEN MEANING OF INNER SPEECH

Marlene M. Pomper

1990

This paper is concerned with the inner speech process, its relationship to thought and behavior, and its theoretical and educational implications. It will define inner speech and trace its development. Second, it will investigate competing theories surrounding the subject, with an emphasis on the theories of Lev Vygotsky. Third, it will present both laboratory and documentary evidence of the existence of inner speech. Lastly, this paper will examine its significance and explore its educational implications.

As a bridge between thought and written or spoken language, inner speech has the stamp of a personalized, yet covert, organizational and directive process. Its supports tend to be raw and natural, yet flexible enough to sway with the influx of new ideas. From its physical manifestations, we are led to the inner consciousness of its users and to the environments from which they came.

The Meaning, Development and Function of Inner Speech

Inner speech is "thinking in pure meanings...It is a dynamic, shifting, unstable thing that flutters between word and thought" (Vygotsky, 149). Condensation and abbreviation are its chief characteristics. "It is almost entirely predicative, because the situation, the subject is always known to the thinker" (Vygotsky, 100). One might compare it to a type of mental shorthand. It is maximally compact as

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compared with oral speech which involves greater elaboration simply because it is communicated, and with written speech which requires the greatest elaboration of all, as it lacks an immediate audience. These relationships are diagrammed in Figure 1.

According to Vygotsky, the structure of one's speech directly relates to its function. When speech for oneself turns inward, it requires different thoughts as well as its own laws, thus complicating the way in which it relates to other speech activities (Vygotsky, 131). One only learns to speak by differentiating and individualizing one's speech from that of others. Therefore its function determines its structure (Vygotsky, 133). A comparison of external and inner speech is shown in Table 1 (Vygotsky, 45).

In a further analysis, Inner Speech Revisited, James Wertsch hypothesized that inner speech contained three semantic charaterizations: (1) agglutination; (2) preponderance of sense over meaning; and (3) influx of sense. The first, agglutination, is a way of combining or merging two or more words into one (e.g. snowshoes) that is fairly common in other languages, such as German. The second, preponderance of sense over meaning (connotations rather than denotations), Vygotsky describes as a complex, mobile, protean phenomenon. The third, influx of sense,

relates to the way in which words combine or unite, as they do within the context of a sentence or paragraph (Wertsch, 145f.).

Some confusion has arisen from Vygotsky's use of the term, "predicated speech," as it implies a grammatical structure which relates to the verb of the sentence. Actually, he is not referring to nouns and verbs at all, but rather to a "psychological" subject and predicate, or the incorporation of only that which is new in terms of content that will help to determine the meaning. At times either a grammatical subject or predicate is capable of fulfilling that function.

Since inner speech is a subcategory of speech, its development corresponds to that of general speech. It too is social in origin. Not only are children bound to their parents emotionally but intellectually, for it is through speech that they are able to organize mental activities and behavior. The way children first manage complex physical coordinations only with their parents' help, yet later do so independently, is analagous to the way they move from adult dependency for the implemention of directions and mental operations to autonomy in such matters (Luria, 17).

What a children do with the help of adult intervention becomes part of their own "intrapersonal use" when they start to dialogue with themselves. Speech is similar in

this respect to drawing. In drawing, children need to see their own drawing before naming it. An older child, however, can plan in advance what to draw. Similarly, speech initially follows action. Later, action follows speech which guides and determines it. At the same time, speech allows a child to overcome impulsive action and to shape behavior. But it is important to remember that a child's first means of communication is through signs and signals (Mind in Society, 28).

A child is not alone in this process. "From the very first days of a child's development his activities acquire a meaning of their own in a system of social behavior and being directed toward a definite purpose are refracted through the prism of a child's environment. The path from the object to child and from child to object passes through another person" (Mind in Society, 7).

Distinct human abilities aid language acquisition. Unlike animals, man is able to concentrate on a single enviromental stimulus "to focus his attention on given objects" and to inhibit motor activities at will. We have no adequate explanation for the existence of these abilities in the human psyche (Luria, 19).

The way such concentration and discrimination develops may be found in a mother's introduction of the word "cup" to a child. By raising the object and naming it, she is singles it out for recognition and, consequently, relegates

all other stimuli to a secondary position (Luria, 19). In general, speech follows the same rules of development as any other mental operations employing signs (Vygotsky, 51). Inner speech depends both on children's opportunities for socialized speech and their growth in logical ability.

Competing Views: The Development and Role of Inner Speech

The most well-documented controversy over inner speech involves the theories of Piaget and Vygotsky. Less complex are the distinctions made by Stern and by Watson.

Piaget insists that a child's egocentric speech is a direct result of egocentric thought that is unable to adapt to adult thought and has no meaningful function other than as an accompaniment to adult activity. That production ceases with maturity, Piaget's believes, is additional proof that its function is insignificant (Vygotsky, 132).

Yet for Vygotsky, egocentric speech is an important and necessary transition from "interpsychic" to "intrapsychic" functioning, one related to all higher psychological functions (Ibid). It employs both practical intelligence and inner speech. As diagrammed in Figure 2, these two combined produce verbal speech.

Stern upholds the view that children of 1 1/2 to 2 years of age experience a moment of truth when they can generalize the idea that all objects have names. Vygotsky

contradicts this view, for his studies indicate that such comprehension stems from a very gradual and not a completely intellectual process. Whereas Stern supposed that children's use of the word "Mama" might imply a whole sentence, Vygotsky accused him of neglecting the importance of childish gestures in the completion of meanings (Vygotsky, 26). For example, a child in a high chair with uplifted arms saying "Mama" is really saying, "Mama, please take me out of here."

To Stern, speech develops from three separate roots: the expressive (that pertains to animals), the social, and the intentional (objective meaning directed toward a certain context). Only the "intentional" root, developing quickly, is regarded as truly human. Vygotsky, however, does not accept this syncretic leap (Vygotsky, 25).

Vygotsky rejects interpretations such as Watson's that simply equate inner speech with subvocalization. There are no structural differences, he insists, between speaking and whispering. He also disagrees with Watson's alternate theory that all speech patterns might occur simultaneously (Vygotsky, 44).

Vygotsky also denies the notion that inner speech is identical with verbal memory. He claims that "speech is interiorized psychologically before it is interiorized physically" (Vygotsky, 45f.). His own theory of language development may be pictured in Figure 3.

Other theories are based on personal accounts. In Slobin's Psycholinguistics, he relates Einstein's views on his connection between thought and language, as they appeared in Brewster Gheslin's The Creative Process:

> The words of the language, as they are written or spoken, do not play any role in my mechanism of thought. The psychical entities which seem to serve as elements in thought are certain signs and more or less clear images which can be 'voluntarily' reduced or combined.
>
> ...[T]his combinatory play seems to be the essential feature in productive thought before there is any connection with logical construction in words or any other kind of signs which can be communicated to others.
>
> The above mentioned elements are, in my case, of visual and some of muscular type. Conventional words or other signs have to be sought for laboriously only in a secondary stage ...(Slobin, 102).

The novels of two noted Russian authors, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, abound with examples of the existence of inner speech. In Thought and Language, Vygotsky quotes from a conversation between Kitty and Levin in Anna Karenina

(Part IV, chap. 13). After simply writing the intitial letters, wya: icnb, dymton, Kitty is able to understand in full the abbreviated message of her loved one. The message is: "When you answered: it can not be, did you mean then or never?" (Vygotsky, 140). It is as though Levin's inner speech were being externalized directly.

Vygotsky believed that "thought development is determined by language," which he termed a linguistic tool of thought. Yet language skill alone, he claimed, was no proof of thought, as "an animal's ablity to express himself vocally is no indication of mental development" (Vygotsky, 49). That children can recite poems by heart or parrots can repeat words does not sufficiently prove they can think.

As a Russian and Marxist, Vygotsky emphasized the importance of the sociocultural experiences for children's linguistic development. Consequently, some of the criticisms he levelled against Piaget stemmed from the particular school settings in which Piaget conducted his experiments. Vygotsky felt that Piaget's tests should have included children of more diverse social backgrounds and that, in the German kindergarten in which his own theories were tested, increased group interaction decreased the coefficient of egocentricism and promoted adaptive speech (Vygotsky, 22ff.).

In accepting the Marxian dialectic Vygotsky agreed that "man affects nature and created through his changes in nature new material conditions for his existence." He further argued that humans have "a transforming reaction on Nature which Engels attributed to tools" (Mind in Society, 60f.). To him, thought and speech were in a dynamic relationship, marked by constant change and a lack of parallelism, though at times they intertwined. The same theories apply to both ontogeny and phylogeny (Vygotsky,33).

He studied all phenomena as processes of change and motion (similar to Piaget's states and transformations). Everything in his view has a history and is characterized by both quantivative and qualitative change from the simple to the complex. The relationship to consciousness and behavior was most important to him for, "Like tools systems, sign systems (language, writing, number systems) are created by societies over history and change within the form of society and the level of cultural development." (Mind in Society, 7) As did Marx, he sought to find the nature of value through the analysis of a single "psychological cell," which he characterized as a type of microanatomy (Mind in Society, 8).

Proof That Inner Speech Exists

One might well question the existence of a covert operation. Consequently, Vygotsky's theories of inner

speech required both quantitative and qualitative evidence. In support of the theory, Luria's experiments on children with aphasis found that "mechanical retardation of articulation" (e.g. by clamping the tongue and lips between the teeth or by opening the mouth as widely as possible while the tongue and vocal cords remained in a maximally passive position) hampers mental operations considerably (Sokolov, 53).

This discovery was followed by the introduction of electromyographic analysis by Jacobson in 1961 and Sokolov in Moscow. Their work made it possible to record micromovements of the tongue in patients engaged in thought. It thereby helped to establish the existence of inner speech more convincingly through measurement (Sokolov, 161).

Vygotsky's own experiments, described in Mind in Society, had two aims: (1) to make visible those forms of habitual behavior that are usually covert; and (2) "to telescope the actual course of development of a given function" and to reconstruct those changes (p. 12). He was a keen observer of overt indicators of internal operations. For example, he would supply children with many items on which they would be tested for recall and observe their original attempts at classification.

The method, labeled "experimental-developmental," consisted of artificially provoking or recreating both

voluntary and involuntary psychological development. He claimed that, "Introspection is often unable to provide an accurate description, let alone a correct explanation, for even the subjective aspects of the response." (Mind in Society, 67).

Vygotsky disagrees with the notion that cognitive development is simply the gradual accumulation of separate changes (Mind in Society, 73). "As I have repeatedly argued," he emphasizes, "an essential mechanism for the reconstruction process that takes place during a child's development is the creation and use of a number of artificial stimuli. They play an auxilliary role that permits human beings to master their own behavior, at first by external means and later by more complex inner operations." Therefore, he goes on, "Our approach to cognitive funcioning does not require the experimenter to furnish subjects with ready-made external or artifical means in order that they may successfully complete the given task. The experiment is equally valid if instead of giving children artifical means, the experimenter waits until they spontaneously apply some new auxilliary method or symbol that they can incorporate into their operation." He added that "what is crucial is that in all these cases we must adhere to one principle. We must study not only the final

effect of the operation, but its specific psychological structure" (Mind in Society, 73).

To prove that egocentric speech does not disappear with maturity and is a necessary part of children's development, he introduced into his experiments particular opportunities for them to experience frustrations in their activities. Just when a child was about to draw, he would hide paper and pencils of appropriate colors. This change resulted in doubling of egocentric speech. The child might say aloud, but to himself, "Where's the pencil? I need a blue pencil. Never mind, I'll draw the red one and mix it with water; it will become dark and look like blue" (Bolton, 220).

As a result of this experiment, Vygotsky concluded that egocentric speech is used for the organization and planning of activities which, after age seven, become inner speech, still capable of controlling both behavior and thought.

Although Vygotsky believed that language plays a crucial role in the development of thinking, Bolton suggests that "he did not believe that thinking is reducible to the manipulation of words." Instead, according to Bolton, Vygotsky's concern was with the way language frees man from "the influence of immediate stimulation," as would be true in a Pavlovian conditioned response, and permits him to use "signals of signals." Humans are thus able to form rapid associations and flexible behaviors that are far superior to

those of non-linguistic animals (Bolton, 221). "In the Vygotskian scheme of things a basic continuity exists between the control of one's action by others and the voluntary control of one's action by oneself. All control is a matter of following instructions either external or internal. Internal control depends on the development of inner speech. Inner speech in turn comes from socialized speech. Self control is therefore preceded genetically by external control" (McNeill, 126).

After Vygotsky's untimely death, Luria, who was primarily responsible for the continuation of his work, sought to establish a connection between language and voluntary behavior. He observed that a young child between 1 1/2 and 2 does not carry out adult directions, such as: "Give me the ball," unless that is what he intends to do anyway. The child may just stare at the ball when asked, but if he decides to give the adult a doll, he will give that instead. Older children respond more quickly and with greater understanding. As they mature they do not depend on outside direction but instead instruct themselves (Bolton, 221). To young children, adult instructions remain part of what they consider to be affective behavior unless a clear order is given with a particular tone, as might be the case in an adult's command, "Give me your hands." (Bolton, 52) himself, "Where's the pencil? I need a blue pencil. Never

mind, I'll draw with the red one and mix it with water; it will become dark and look like blue" (Bolton, 220).

Luria devised the following experiment to test a child's ability at self-direction. A researcher asked a child, "Press the bulb if the red light comes on, but do not press it if a green light comes on." The results were that the 2 1/2 year old child completely misunderstood the task and pressed the bulb at once and when the red light came on. The three-year-old pressed the bulb when both red and green lights were on. The six-year-old succeeded at the task, thus showing a greater ability to respond to the directions by performing or withholding action. (Bolton,222)

In related tests, a child aged 20 months to two years is asked to remove his socks while in the process of putting them on, or put a ring on a bar when in the process of removing it. As demonstrated in the Shchelovanor laboratories, these children are unable to alter their behaviors accordingly (Ibid).

In another experiment, once a child is asked to squeeze the air out of a rubber balloon, he is unable to stop that activity even after the examiner says, "That is enough." This indicates that the initiating function of speech precedes its inhibiting function, and that verbal instructions alone are unsuccessful in inhibiting motor responses. Children younger than three, even when told not to press a bulb when a light goes on, still do so

impulsively. Young children thus respond to commands without any analysis, but as signals. Surprisingly, these experiments have not been widely publicized in child-rearing books, as they have implications for language development (Luria, 52ff.).

In later versions of the balloon experiment, a child would stop squeezing the balloon if, after succeeding in squeezing and at the flash of an electric signal, he was asked to move his hand away immediately and place it on his knee. After a while, the distance that the child would move his hand was reduced until the original task was completed by children of the same age as those in the original experiment (Luria, 60). In further research conducted by Yakovleva, 50% of all tested children aged 1 1/2-years and 75% of all children 2-3 years of age were able to complete the revised balloon experiment successfully (Luria, 66).

This was the "first and simplest model of a voluntary movement in a young child." In the experiment, speech was combined with signals to implement a child's ability to follow directions. A 3 1/2 year old child can be expected to respond positively to a verbal direction to wait for a signal before responding (Luria, 68).

To this point, the experiments discussed deal only with children. I have also conducted an original pilot study to test the existence of inner speech among adults. I hypothesize that notes written in the margins of books are

probably the closest observable form of inner speech activity. If that is the case, these marginal notes should contain many of the same characteristics as inner speech.

To test this hypothesis, I have analyzed notes generously supplied by students in this class, as well as notes randomly selected from library books. (See Appendix.) These notes are reproduced on the following pages. My method involves classifying them according to the three categories suggested by Wertsch. Notes marked 1 show the first characteristic, that of agglutination, where two or more words are combined into one word. Notes marked 2 show the second characteristic, connotation rather than denotation. Notes marked 3 evidence the third feature, an influx of sense in combining or uniting words within a sentence or paragraph.

Only two instances bordered on agglutination. The prefix "anti" was combined with the word "God" in "Anti-God", and the prefix "gyneo" was combined with "phobia" so as to condense meaning. Most of the samples emphasized connotation over denotation. In the act of relating information to a more personal knowledge, new and more inclusive categories were established. Some are examples of context analysis in which the reader used a dictionary for verification and noted a word's part of speech.

A more appropriate classification of marginal notes might be one which includes the three characteristics that seem to predominate: categorizing, defining, and questioning. In general, marginal notes show many of the characteristics of inner speech. They concentrate on pure meanings, commonly condense and abbreviate words and ideas, and typically ignore or predicate subjects. There is reason to believe, therefore, that adults, like children use inner speech. Significantly, this view contradicts a major tenet of Jean Piaget, that inner speech disappears in adulthood. Further investigation of this source material seems fully warrented.

The Significance of Inner Speech

"A vital feature of the complicated functional systems formed in the course of a child's social relationships, with either externalized or inner speech playing an integral part, is that they enable man to go far beyond the bounds of his physical capacities and organize the well-defined forms of active deliberate behavior whose causal explanation has always baffled psychologists" (Luria, 18) When a child begins to name objects on his own, he becomes capable of actively modifying the environment which influences him and adapts his behavior to the influences thus modified" (Luria, 19).

Inner speech is particularly important in understanding

how humans think and the processes involved in both reading and writing. To accomplish this understanding, Vygotsky, a student of literature, turned to a study of the inner consciousnesss of protagonists in the works of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky and Shakespeare. Still searching for answers, he turned to psychiatry, neurology, linguisitics and education. It was his unique ability to synthesize knowledge from such divergent fields.

It is noteworthy that in his experiments Vygotsky did not seek to control the variable of cultural contamination. Unlike American psychologists, he always considered his subjects in relation to their specific "cultural-historical" situation rather than in isolation. This was the basis for much of the criticism that was levelled against him after his experiments, unpublished under Stalin's repressive regime, became known to Americans in the 1950s (Toulman, 51-55). His use of diverse materials points the way to a comprehensive study of language development.

It is noteworthy that in his experiments Vygotsky did not seek to control the variable of cultural contamination. Unlike American psychologists, he always considered his subjects in relation to their specific "cultural-historical" situation rather than in isolation. This was the basis for much of the criticism that was levelled against him after his experiments, unpublished under Stalin's repressive regime, became known to Americans in the 1950s (Toulman,

51-55). His use of diverse materials points the way to a comprehensive study of language development.

Application of Theory to Educational Processes

Vygotsky's emphasis on adult influence on children's development might well relate to the roles of both parents or teachers (Smith, Goodman and Meredith, 134f.). "The language of the environment with its stable, permanent meanings, points the way that the child's generalizations will take. The adult cannot pass on to the child his mode of thinking. He merely supplies the ready-made meaning of a word, around which the child forms a complex (concept or cluster). The lines along which a complex develops are predetermined by the meaning a given word already has in the language of adults. Verbal intercourse with adults thus becomes a powerful factor in the development of a child's concepts" (Vygotsky, 67f.).

To facilitate such conceptual development, curriculum goals might be broadened to include a need for development of inner speech. In determining the goals of education, Connolly and Bruner selected three aspects of language that should be included. Along with (1) coding ability and (2) ability to focus on language awareness to facilitate communication, they include (3) the use of inner speech to enable internalization of directions "given by another and to stay within an imposed task, in tests or in real life, without visceral support and reinforcement from another

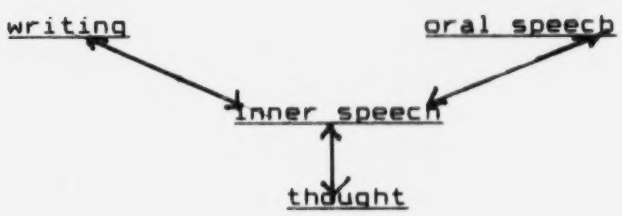
person" (Connolly and Bruner, 205).

Innovative classroom organization, such as the formation of multiple small groups, might encourage increased dialoguing both between children and between teacher and students. Notetaking, both as marginal notes and as visual schema, might be stressed as an organizing factor. To dialogue with oneself might be considered as important as to dialogue with others.

Another distinction might be made in the use of motivational devices. Both Piaget and Vygotsky argue against behavioristic type motivations, and a belief in primary instinctual development as described by Freud. Motivation, according to Vygotsky, is to be found in the tasks imposed by society, and cognitive development tends to be imitative. Kenneth Koch, with his emphasis on modelling, in Rose Where Did You Get That Red?, seems to adhere to Vygotsky's view of the transmission of the organizing process. Piaget, however, views children as self-starters and self-motivators with an inate need to structure reality.

An understanding of the way in which our students' thought structures relate to their environment should not be overlooked. Structures, such as inner speech, respond to and influence changes in both language and learning.

FIGURE 1



THE MODEL OF INNER SPEECH

TABLE 1

	External Speech	Inner Speech
Function	Social	Personal adaptive
Structure	Toward greater elaboration	Toward greater economy
Genetic development	From part to whole- one word to two or more - overt	From whole to part- speech patterns covert beyond recognition

---

FIGURE 2

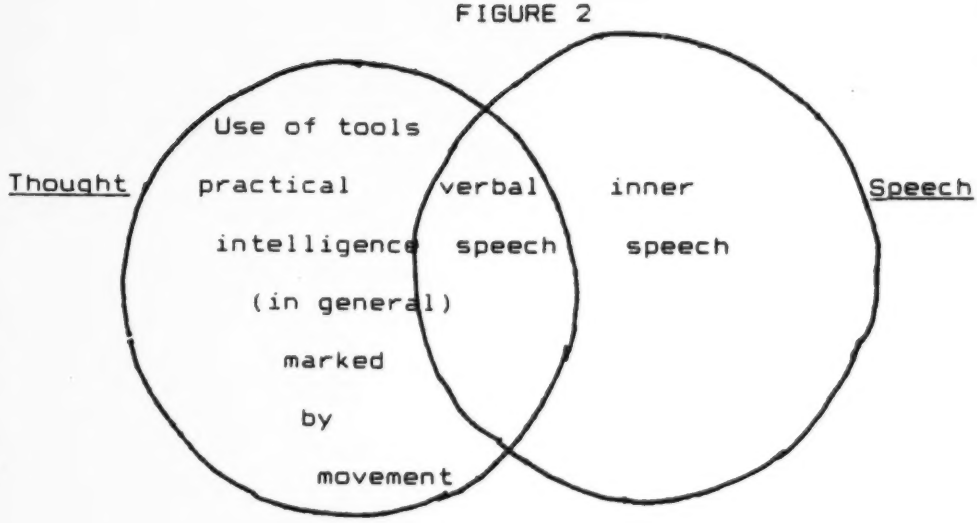


FIGURE 3

external speech--->egocentric speech--->inner speech

(social) (individual)

VYGOTSKY'S THEORY OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

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things upon the natural impulses and tendencies—so far is expression from being the direct and immaculate issue of the latter. The ~~[illegible]~~point follows. ~~The act of expression that constitutes a work of art is a construction in time, not an instantaneous emission. And this statement signifies a great deal more than~~ that it takes time for the painter to transfer his imaginative conception to canvass and ~~for the sculptor to complete his chipping of marble.~~ It means that ~~the expression of the self in and through a medium, constituting the work of art, is itself a prolonged interaction of something having form the self with objective conditions, a process in which both of these acquire a form and order they did not at first possess. Even the Almighty took seven days~~ to create the heaven and the earth, and, if the record were complete, we should also learn that it was only at the end of that period that he was aware of just what He set out to do with the material of chaos that confronted Him. Only an emasculated ~~subjective metaphysics has transformed the eloquent myth of Genesis into~~ the conception of a Creator creating without any unformed matter to work upon. ANTI-GOD COMMENT RE: SCIENCE

The final comment is that when excitement about subject matter goes deep, it stirs up a store of attitudes and meanings derived from prior experience. As they are aroused into activity they become conscious thoughts and emotions, emotionalized images. ~~To be stirred by a thought or scene is to be inspired.~~ What is kindled must either burn itself out, turning to ashes, or must press itself out in material that changes the latter from crude metal into a refined product. ~~Many a person is unhappy, tortured within, because he has at command no art of expressive action.~~ What under happier conditions might be used to convert objective material into material of an intense and clear experience, seethes within in unruly turmoil which finally dies down after, perhaps, a painful inner disruption.

Materials undergoing combustion because of intimate contacts and mutually exercised resistances constitute inspiration. On the side of the self, elements that issue from prior experience are stirred into action in fresh desires, impulsions and images. These proceed from the subconscious, not cold or in shapes that are identified with particulars of the past, not in chunks and lumps, but fused in the fire of internal commotion. They do not seem

FORM is defined in many ways by Dewey.

CHAPTER I

THE LIVE CREATURE

BY ONE of the ironic perversities that often attend the course of affairs, ~~the existence of the works of art upon which formulation of an esthetic theory depends has become an obstruction to theory about them.~~ For one reason, these works are products that exist externally and physically. In common conception, the work of art is often identified with the building, book, painting, or statue in its existence apart from human experience. ~~Since the actual work of art is what the product does with and in experience, the result is not favorable to understanding. In addition, the very perfection of some of these products, the prestige they possess because of a long history of unquestioned admiration, creates conventions that get in the way of fresh insight. When an art product once attains classic status, it somehow becomes isolated from the human conditions under which it was brought into being and from the human consequences it engenders in actual life-experience.~~

When artistic objects are separated from both conditions of origin and operation in experience, a wall is built around them that renders almost opaque their general significance, with which esthetic theory deals. Art is remitted to a separate realm, where it is cut off from that association with the materials and aims of every other form of human effort, undergoing, and achievement. A primary task is thus imposed upon one who undertakes to write upon the philosophy of the fine arts. This task is to restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art and the everyday events, doings, and sufferings that are universally recognized to constitute experience. Mountain peaks do not float unsupported; they do not even just rest upon the earth. They *are* the earth in one of its manifest operations. It is the business of those who are concerned with the theory of the earth, geographers and geologists, to make this fact

"In the beginning was the word."

sitions about life and death, good and evil, substance, beauty, and other non-existent topics.

So long as we regard only scientific and "material" (semi-scientific) thought as really cognitive of the world, this peculiar picture of mental life must stand. And *so long as we admit only discursive symbolism as a bearer of ideas, "thought" in this restricted sense must be regarded as our only intellectual activity.* It begins and ends with language; without the elements, at least, of scientific grammar, conception must be impossible.

BIBLE

"TRUTH IS A... STRANGER THAN MOBY-DICK"

KEATS "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

"A word is dead ..." Dickinson

For all mental processes fail to grasp reality itself, and in order to represent it, to hold it at all, they are driven to the use of symbols. But all symbolism harbors the curse of mediacy; it is bound to obscure what it seeks to reveal. Thus the sound of speech strives to "express" subjective and objective happening, the "inner" and the "outer" world; but what of this it can retain is not the life and individual fullness of existence, but only a dead abbreviation of it. All that "denotation" to which the spoken word lays claim is really nothing more than mere suggestion; a "suggestion" which, in face of the concrete variegation and totality of actual experience, must always appear a poor and empty shell. That is true of the external as well as the inner world: "When speaks the soul, alas, the soul no longer speaks!" PLATO

(2) Emily Dickinson context

(2) Rumplestiltskin

power of the Spoken Word (Vāc) exalted even above the might of the gods themselves.

"On the Spoken Word all the gods depend, all beasts and men; in the Word live all creatures . . . the Word is the Imperishable, the firstborn of the eternal Law, the mother of the Veddas, the navel of the divine world."[23]

As the Word is first in origin, it is also supreme in power. Often it is the *name* of the deity, rather than the god himself, that seems to be the real source of efficacy.[24] Knowledge of the name gives him who knows it mastery even over the being and will of the god. Thus a familiar Egyptian legend tells how Isis, the great sorceress, craftily persuaded the sun-god Ra to disclose his name to her, and how through possession of the name she gained power over him and over all the other gods.[25] In many other ways, too, Egyptian religious life in all its phases evinces over and over again this belief in the supremacy of the name and the magic power that dwells

Rumplestiltskin

They spread into various commanding circles of the institutions of power. One promising son enters upon a high governmental career—perhaps the State Department; his first cousin is in due course elevated to a high executive place in the headquarters of a corporation; his uncle has already ascended to naval command; and a brother of the first cousin is about to become the president of a leading college. And, of course, there is the family law firm, whose partners keep in close touch with outlying members and with the problems they face.

evidence ?

↑ Questions

contrast with what excludes them, the rational mode of action."[8] In the *Structure of Social Action*, Parsons specifically depends on the isomorphy of sociological practice and rationality. In arriving at a determination of its subject matter, sociology has simply conformed to the contours of the institutionalized boundaries it presupposes. It is no accident that women are identified with the world of feeling and emotion, not only as being more emotional than men, but also as creating and preserving for men who participate in this mode of action a place to feel.

These assumptions and the social organization in which they are grounded are drawn into question when we begin from the experience and actualities of women's situation. For then we locate our enterprises with knowers whose perspective is organized by exactly how it is they are outside these structures, how they are excluded from participation, what their concrete situation is and its relation to the ruling apparatus of which sociology is a part. If we began from women's experience of the world, we would not find these assumptions built into its sociology, since they do not conform to the organization of our experience. Characteristically for women (as also for others in the society similarly excluded), the organization of daily experience, the work routines and the structuring of our lives through time, has been and to a very large extent still is determined and ordered by processes external to, and beyond, our everyday world. I think I would be by no means alone in seeing in my past not so much a career as a series of contingencies, of accidents, so that I seem to have become who I am almost by chance.

The experience of marriage, of immigration closely following marriage, of the arrival of children, of the departure of a husband rather early one morning, of the jobs that became available—all these were moments in which I had in fact little choice and certainly little foreknowledge. I had little opportunity of calculating rationally what it means to have a child, what it means to leave your own country and live among strangers, what it means to be married, and how each of these experiences would be a major transformation. When I read in autobiographies or fiction of the lives of other women, I find these same qualities and the surprises in store for the subject about whom she may become. I do not find them in the same way in the autobiographies of men.

In general, women's work routines and the organization of their daily lives do not conform to the "voluntaristic" model or to the model upon which an agentic style of sociology might be based. Women have little opportunity for the exercise of mastery and control. Their working lives are not structured in terms of a project of their own. The housewife, for example, becomes rather highly skilled at holding together and coordinating the threads and shreds of several lines of action, the projects of